

# President's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Matters

Following is a transcript of President Reagan's news conference in Washington last night, as recorded by The New York Times:

## OPENING STATEMENT

I have an opening statement here. A while back I got a letter from a 13-year-old and I apologize for not having answered her as yet. She wrote, "Don't you wish someone could just stamp you right and shoot at the press or Senators to get quiet, sit down and listen to what you're saying? Well, yes, Gretchen, I sometimes do feel that way, and particularly over the past week."

On April 27 I went to Capitol Hill, addressed a joint session of the Congress on a subject of vital importance to all Americans. I talked about our goals in Central America and I asked for Congressional understanding and support. In Central America as elsewhere we support democracy, reform, and human freedom; we support economic development; we support dialogue and negotiations and within the countries of the region, and yes, we support a security shield for the region's threatened nations in order to protect these other goals.

In my view, there's been entirely too much attention to the efforts that we're making to provide that security shield, and not nearly enough to the other elements of our policy. Yet in each of the four elements of the policy we find that they reinforce each other, and they're being pursued simultaneously in a carefully balanced manner.

I dispatched Ambassador Dick Stone to the region to facilitate the process of dialogue and negotiations. He's there now with a personal message from me to leaders of the countries in the region, the text of which I'm making public tonight.

I am heartened by the efforts of the Contadora countries, led by Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela, to reach a peaceful regional solution. I'm encouraged by some recent statements from Nicaragua and Cuba that seem to indicate that they, too, recognize the merit to regional negotiations. I trust their words will be followed by positive actions to ease tensions and stop the fighting in the region.

Here at home I've appointed a bipartisan commission to make recommendations on the long-term issues, including economic assistance, that we should undertake to help the struggling nations. And I hope soon to be signing the legislation on the Caribbean Basin initiative passed by an overwhelming bipartisan majority in both Houses. The program will bolster the economic independence of the region.

We continue to promote elections as

the best way to guarantee peace, human freedom and responsive government.

## Greatest Part of Aid

The greatest portion of our aid goes toward humanitarian and economic assistance. For every one dollar we provide for security assistance to that region, we provide three dollars for economic and human development. But we recognize that democracy and development can hardly flourish in an area threatened by violence. Dialogue and negotiations can best succeed when the parties are convinced that their goals cannot be achieved through the barrel of the gun.

It's especially important in our own hemisphere that the United States continue to be the foremost protector of peace. As part of this mission, as a way to provide a shield for democracy and the people of the region, and that we stand ready to support them in what they're trying to accomplish. We want a political and peaceful solution.

Now what a minute, there are two more here, Bob Raleigh?

**Support for a War**  
Q. Mr. President, military leaders in the Pentagon have stated recently that they never want to be involved in another war without the support of the American people. Do you have any sense of feeling now for whether the American people are ready to support a war to defend our interests in Central America?

A. Well, in the first place, I don't think the American people have ever wanted a war. I think we're probably the most peace-loving people in the world. And maybe this best part of what has lurked into us wars in the past, because we haven't been ready for them. But, no, I don't think that they're not ready to support a war that they're not ready to support. I think we're aware as perhaps they are that this does constitute something of a threat in this hemisphere to peace in the entire hemisphere, if those who are exporting the revolution here are successful. But no, we're not planning a war, and we don't think that's a sign of weakness.

I've seen four wars in my lifetime. I have sons and I have a grandson. And I agree with General Eisenhower, that war is man's greatest stupidity. I don't want to see such a thing. We want peace. But we also must recognize that you've not done anything to just want peace. You have got to prevent what is happening down there to people who want peace also, but are not allowed to have it because of our side forces that are seizing upon their situation and hoping to further their own ends.

Q. Sir, do you feel that people support your policies in Central America?

A. Those that have been informed and understand it. I just met with some today who made it evident that they're not ready to support a war that they're not ready to support. I think we're aware as perhaps they are that this does constitute something of a threat in this hemisphere to peace in the entire hemisphere, if those who are exporting the revolution here are successful. But no, we're not planning a war, and we don't think that's a sign of weakness.

Now, Ben Taylor?

**Possible Hostile Incident**  
Q. Mr. President, if there is an incident where the American forces down there are engaged in the fighting, exercises are fired upon and they are forced to fire back, do you see any consequences that might lead to deeper American involvement in Central America?

A. No, I don't, really, because I don't foresee — first of all, these maneuvers that are going to be held in Honduras are not going to put American forces in any reasonable proximity to the border. It would have to be something in the nature of a terrorist attack, something of that kind. And I don't foresee that any of us would have a base in America. And again I believe that those people who have taken it upon themselves to use our defenders and protectors have a right to defend and protect their own lives.

To follow up, sir, if Nicaragua attacks Honduras, would the United States assist Honduras militarily under the terms of the Rio Muttal Defiance Treaty?

A. Well, we haven't considered that. But a great many people should know that since 1947 and so obviously our Administration didn't have anything to do with it — there is a pact, the Rio Pact, that says that any attack, or an attack on any American state that is considered as an attack on all American states. Now that would require, of course, actual outside aggression on a state, and I suppose by a country flying under its own flag instead of under surrogate troops. So we would have to deal with that problem, and we would have to deal with it with all of our neighbors and friends in the Organization of American States.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. I'd like to silence you a short while with a drumbeat of confusion that we're talking about. Why not say categorically that Central America will not be involved in Vietnam, the only circumstances under which you impose U.S. troops in a combat situation in Central America?

A. Well, I said the last time we gathered that there is something — I can make every assurance in the world that we have no such plan, we have no desire, nor do the countries down there want us involved in that way. The only reason that has been mentioned by Presidents like Franklin Delano Roosevelt and others, and that is that a President should never say "never," because that's a hypothetical question that then asks you to try to predict what could possibly take place in the future and I just don't believe you can answer a hypothetical question.

Q. Can I follow up? What about in-

creasing the number of U.S. advisers in El Salvador — are you planning to do that?

A. I have presented a proposal to me about increasing the number. There's no question that 55 of them — if there was an increase — probably we could train the Salvadoran Army with its new recruits that are coming in actually requiring basic training a year. If we're doing it, it's not there's been no proposal for such an increase.

## Aid to Latin America

Q. Mr. President, since you yourself have identified massive social problems as the root causes of the troubles in Central America, are you prepared to make a commitment to substantial U.S. aid on the order of the Marshall Plan if the hostilities down there can be calmed?

A. Well, what we've appointed a commission to look at the kind of long-range plan that would particularly deal with the things that you mention. There's no question that our neighbors to the south have for too long been the victims of the kind of which one set of rulers simply were exchanged for another set of rulers. And there's no question but that their economic and social policies have left much to be desired as far as the opportunity for the great mass of their people.

And what we want is a long-range policy — and this is what I discussed when I visited there and in South America and discussed with them how we can have the kind of development that will make these countries economically self-sufficient, that will give them a standard of living in which there isn't the fertile soil of the sky and then arouse them to revolution. And to, in other words, have a program that makes all of the nations in the Americas equal partners in the development of this Western Hemisphere; and what a great power we could be if we could only get organized. And we want — this is my dream and it's what I hope that the commission that I've appointed to make the kind of massive dollar commitment that that would undoubtedly entail.

A. It does not follow that it has to be unduly detailed. For example, many of those countries are considered to be high risk for private investment. If, together, we could agree upon guarantees that investment would not be confiscated, taken over by governments and in changes of government and so forth, there is far more in the private investment pool, far more for these than if they were government controlled. And it is to find out what is practical and what is possible, and we're not completely alone in this, because our allies, the other industrial nations in the world, have made it plain to us, and again to them, that not only ours in our Hemisphere, but in their own, we want to come up and find ways that can help the developing part of the world, and help them to faster development and a better way of life.

Sam?

**Withdrawal in Lebanon**  
Q. Sir, the Lebanese President said this past week that the Israeli partial withdrawal in Lebanon amounted to a de facto partition of that country. Do you agree?

A. No, I am very hopeful that if this partial withdrawal takes place that it will be recognized and admitted to be by the Israelis as one phase of their withdrawal to within the 1948 boundaries. If they withdraw in a phased withdrawal it certainly will give us a better case for breaking the roadblock that has been established by Syria and pursuing them to keep their original promise that when others withdrew, they would withdraw.

Q. I don't answer as to whether that is the way that is going to be perceived, or whether the Israelis will admit to it or not, but I will be talking in a couple of days with the two ministers who are here from Israel and about this very thing. But if this is a phased withdrawal, I think there is fear if there's simply a withdrawal to another line and then a digging-in and fortifying along that line, that this would be what it looks like Syria is doing, and that is simply trying to partition Lebanon, reduce Lebanon and grab off some territory for themselves. But with the agreement that's been signed between Lebanon and Israel, I don't think Israel has that in mind.

Q. Sir, what would happen if Lebanon is partitioned? Would it be that awful?

A. I just believe that the people of a country have a right to determine their own destiny, choose their own government, and if it is partitioned, it would be occupation by other countries, and yes, I think that is awful. We set out to help Lebanon to regain sovereignty of its own land, protection of its own borders, and we're helping in every way we can to bring that about.

I have to turn in some other direction here, Chris?

## Kissinger Role on Panel

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to ask you about the chairman of your new commission on Central America, Dr. Henry Kissinger. What would you know, a number of charges over the years that Mr. Kissinger, during the Nixon years, tried to destabilize the duly elected Government of Chile, and that he also once told a Chilean official that whatever happens in the south is of importance to you. Did you check into Mr. Kissinger's record of Latin America before you appointed him?

I know what his position was prior to my taking over this office and how seriously he considered the problems that are going on. Remember, Kissinger didn't start with us — it was already in turmoil before we got here. And I know how he feels about that.

**Expansion of Covert Aid**  
Q. Mr. President, it is true that you're planning a vast expansion of covert aid to the anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua. What would you say to the criticism that such an aid meant to your efforts in Central America?

A. I think it would be a very grave mistake if the Legislature interfered with what we're trying to do and we're trying to do it through our own authority. I can't answer your question about covert aid. I think this is like discussing intelligence operations. If we're going to do it, we're going to do it. I can only tell you that we're continuing on a policy that we believe is the only one that will bring about peace in El Salvador, hopefully through negotiations with those who are presently radicals and

and I know also that there's no hard and fast — well, let me put it this way — I think there are some stereotypes about Mr. Kissinger that have nothing to do with the reading and rereading of the history would indicate that those stereotypes are not necessarily valid.

## No Women on Commission

Q. Let me follow up with another question about the commission. You talk a lot here, and your aides do, about the "gender gap," and yet that commission was appointed 12 men, no women. Doesn't that add to the perception that you're insensitive to women?

A. It might add to the perception and that's all it is, a perception, because if anyone really wants to dig into the facts, I will match our record against any other Administration that has ever been here with regard to what we have accomplished with women in the field of economics, our tax policies that reduced and hopefully will in the near future eliminate the average penalty for tax, the measures that we passed on the I.R.A.'s that not only working women, but housewives can take these tax-free savings accounts. We have almost doubled the tax credit for child care.

But in addition to that, I noticed the other night that someone on the air was comparing our record to that of the previous Administration, and we think of little in the way with regard to the appointment of women to positions in Government, except that it turned out that without their acknowledging it, they were comparing the four-year record of the previous Administration with our first two years, and when you do that, well, we're quite a ways out ahead.

Q. Why are there no women on this commission?

A. On this particular commission, maybe it's because we're doing so much more appointing so many that we're no longer seeking a token something. It just came out that these were the 12 we selected. We wanted six opportunities and we wanted six on our side. But we've appointed over a thousand women in executive positions. They were compared with the members of the Cabinet — never before in history — and one member of the Supreme Court. So I think our record is just a case of our record isn't known.

Jerry?

**Source of Salvador Arms**  
Q. Mr. President, since Cuba has repeatedly been labeled as the fountainhead of most of the violence in Central America, why has your Administration elected to go to the recipients of the arms and the equipment that comes in instead of going to the source?

A. Well, we have interdicted some of the supplies that are going from Nicaragua over to El Salvador. If you go to the source, I think you're talking about the Soviet Union. They know, as we have communicated with them how we feel about this, and we have also to our friends in Cuba and told them how we feel about it. We are trying to bring about the very thing that all of you seem to think we're shying away from, and that is not broad-based support for the United States and trying to bring about a peaceful and political settlement in Central America.

**Confusion About Arms**  
Q. Mr. President, in reply to Helen's question, you spoke of confusion, but isn't this Administration to blame for much of that confusion? Some of our own ambassadors in Central America were surprised by the maneuvers of the friendly governments, especially in the Contadora group were puzzled by your latest actions. My question is, why was there so much confusion, and what can you do now to reassure any of those friendly governments that we're not going to turn down there there were last week?

A. Well, as I told you, I've sent letters to all four leaders of the Contadora group. And I don't think there is that much disturbance among our friends and allies about this. Sometimes I think it's a slip-up and an ambassador doesn't find out something they should find out soon enough in advance. As a matter of fact I received a cable from one about that in advance, and when Helene speaks, I listen.

Q. Who do you think it is to blame for this confusion you spoke of now?

A. I don't think there is as much confusion as they're trying to point out to this. The training feature with Honduras — this has been well advertised — took place. And as I said we regularly conduct joint maneuvers with, very often jointly on the ground with the navies of our friends and allies in Central and South America. And so I just don't think that there's great confusion about this.

**Expansion of Covert Aid**  
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A. I think it would be a very grave mistake if the Legislature interfered with what we're trying to do and we're trying to do it through our own authority. I can't answer your question about covert aid. I think this is like discussing intelligence operations. If we're going to do it, we're going to do it. I can only tell you that we're continuing on a policy that we believe is the only one that will bring about peace in El Salvador, hopefully through negotiations with those who are presently radicals and

fighting as guerrillas. And in Nicaragua, hoping that we can persuade the Nicaraguan, the Sandinista Government, to return to the principles of the revolution and which they're writing guaranteed to the Organization of American States, what's going to be the policy of their government?

Q. About the covert aid, Mr. President, given the fact that these covert operations are not so covert anymore, haven't we reached a point where it really might make more sense to do things on an overt basis than in covert words, hasn't the thing really become counterproductive?

A. No, No, I don't think so. And I think what we're doing is well within the limits of common sense and those who are attempting to make it impossible for us to bring aid down in that area, I think are the ones who are building up, if they have their way, to a giant headache down the road ways. And we're trying to prevent such a headache from coming about.

**Carter Briefing Book Issue**  
Q. Could you tell us what possible crime could be involved in the Carter briefing book paper to justify calling out the F.B.I.?

A. There you go again. I just couldn't help it. I thought I was going to set a record, and I was going to go upstairs and I ought to say how good that, not a single question on it. I can't think of little in the way with regard to the charge was made — allegation was made — this is why I said there's only one answer to that. Certainly the best answer to that is that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is I have told them to go completely to the bottom of this to see if there was anything unethical in what had taken place and have told all of our people to make themselves available — anyone who knows anything about this, and that includes me, and I didn't know anything about it until I read it in the paper — that to get to the bottom of this so that everyone in this country can be reassured that we're not doing anything unethical.

Q. Yes, sir, but my question was what crime, or would you deny the possibility that all of this is little more than Washington Post, National Inquirer-style summer theater.

A. Oh, you're tempting me. We'll find out when the investigation is completed. There are a number of things contained in the allegations and the wild flurry that immediately followed this. There could have been a break-in.

Q. In the White House?

A. That's what was alleged. That was what some of them said that this they suspected. I would have to tell you after having lived here for awhile that I don't think it's possible either. But also there could be the element of these things actually stolen by someone in the White House. There involvement of White House staff in campaign activities who were supposed to be performing other government positions? There are a number of things that should be looked at.

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., July 26 — Jeanne Kirkpatrick, the chief United States representative at the United Nations, said today that military operations to be conducted in Central America and the Caribbean were a response to "a very clear and substantial escalation in the importation of heavy arms into Nicaragua this calendar year."

Mrs. Kirkpatrick, who spoke with reporters after a meeting with the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, said that in the first six months of this year, 11 shipments of heavy weapons were unloaded in Nicaragua, compared with only two in 1982. These weapons, she said, came from Soviet-bloc countries.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick said the United States was concerned about the "continued buildup of Soviet bloc strength in an area of vital interest." She added that "this effort, this military buildup is unacceptable" and maintained that it threatened peace in the region.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick said that in her capacity as President Reagan's personal representative to the newly formed commission on Central America, she might travel to the region.

The meeting with Mr. Perez de Cuellar was held to discuss recent developments in United States policy on Latin America.

## Pentagon Says 389 From U.S. Remain Missing in Korea War

WASHINGTON, July 26 (Reuters) — The Pentagon today marked the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Korean War armistice by noting that 389 Americans remained missing in action and unaccounted for in the war.

It said in a statement it was pressing North Korea to cooperate in accounting for the missing Americans.

The statement recalled that the armistice signed July 27, 1953, provided for repatriation of all prisoners of war from both sides and an exchange of information about those missing in action.

"Although 30 years have passed," it said, "the North Koreans have steadfastly refused to cooperate with us in our attempts to account for Americans who were lost during the Korean War."

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## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

### U.S. Military Plans

Q. Mr. President, you complain of too much tension. How can you ignore two battleship groups, thousands of combat troops going to Honduras, you defend the covert use of 10,000 rebels — Nicaraguan rebels. My question, and all these things have happened since April 27, the question, sir, is testing solution, how would you will you go militarily? And I'd like to follow up.

A. Well I have told you. We have no military plans for intervention of that kind. We have 53 military noncommissioned officers flying to train the Salvadoran Army. We know that Cuba has somewhere in the neighborhood, has thousands of military personnel in Nicaragua. It doesn't seem like a little overbalanced with regard to the attention that is being paid to 53 as against attention that's being paid to the thousands.

Q. But — I suppose — that the question is, Helen, back — answer to the question is — why are maneuvers that we have performed before and regularly and routinely with such suspicion when only — well within this year, last spring we had military maneuvers in the Caribbean with Cuba. This year we had naval maneuvers in the Caribbean, and no one seemed to be excited about that. So, I think that there's no confidence in the fact that when I say these are maneuvers of the kind we've been holding regularly and for years.

Q. But they're unprecedented to last six months. The polls show that the American people are not for this and they fear it may lead to all-out war and my question is remembering the lessons of Vietnam, does this bother you and do they have any say?

A. First of all there is no comparison with Vietnam and there's not going to be anything of that kind in the Caribbean and maybe the people are disturbed because of the confused pattern that's been presented to them and that with great drumbeat with regard to the fact of suspicion that somehow there is an ulterior purpose in this. It hardly seems to me that those ships are out there — and I don't know that they're going to be there six months. I don't know what the length of time for the training is. I don't know the number of ships involved. But I didn't know the number that were involved in the Caribbean exercises. But if they were there for some kind of a hostile purpose — we happen to know that right now a Soviet freighter, the Ullisor, is approaching the port of Corinto in the vicinity of Nicaragua. That port is in Nicaragua. And it's carrying a load of arms and equipment — helicopters, transport helicopters for military purposes and so forth, and no one shot at them.

### Number of U.S. Soldiers

Q. Mr. President, you've mentioned your interest in easing the tensions and you've said that you hope the Nicaraguan proposals will have that effect. Now, your spokesmen have said that the 4,000 troops that you're planning to send there will —

A. Between 3,000 and 4,000 troops that you're planning to send down there will have standing orders to de-

food themselves if they're fired upon. How does that help to ease tensions?

A. Well, what a minute. That is something that we're doing. It's a long time, as far as I'm concerned, with our troops and our forces anywhere they may be. We went through the same thing in Vietnam, and our forces were pretty much fair game. Look back at some of our air strikes that have been going on. I charge that they had ventured over international waters or out of international waters into the air space of a Communist-bloc country and we protested diplomatically. It seems to me that young men and women are going to defend the country of our sons and who join the military, should know that they have the right to defend themselves if we have placed them in a position where they could come under fire. And this is just a standard order. We don't want war, and I suppose that's the only way by letting your personnel out there become the victims.

Q. But doesn't this simply increase their vulnerability to such suspicion when only — well within this year, last spring we had military maneuvers in the Caribbean with Cuba. This year we had naval maneuvers in the Caribbean, and no one seemed to be excited about that. So, I think that there's no confidence in the fact that when I say these are maneuvers of the kind we've been holding regularly and for years.

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**Heightening of Tensions**  
Q. How can it turn that down? A little earlier you said yes that the military exercises that you did want to understand there — and I don't know that they're going to be there six months. I don't know what the length of time for the training is. I don't know the number of ships involved. But I didn't know the number that were involved in the Caribbean exercises. But if they were there for some kind of a hostile purpose — we happen to know that right now a Soviet freighter, the Ullisor, is approaching the port of Corinto in the vicinity of Nicaragua. That port is in Nicaragua. And it's carrying a load of arms and equipment — helicopters, transport helicopters for military purposes and so forth, and no one shot at them.

A. Since the trouble that is going on down there comes from outside the area, it is a revolution that's been started by the Soviet Union and from Cuba and from others of their allies, then wouldn't it be reasonable to expect that we should have a pattern and withdraw. Wouldn't we be sending some kind of a signal that might be the wrong kind of signal to send to the people in the area? The simple truth is, no one asked for American forces to come to their aid. In fact, they're asking us to leave. They're asking the reverse, that they don't. And they, they do acknowledge that they need the material assistance that we're providing them. And to provide a shield or help them provide their own shield against the

# A Little Give, a Little Take at Madrid

By JOHN DARTON

Special to The New York Times

MADRID, July 21 — Many of the human rights provisions that the West has been promoting for nearly three years at the Madrid conference on European security and cooperation have been watered down or omitted altogether in the final document, but enough remain for Western negotiators to say they have made a decent bargain with the Soviet Union.

The catchword, now that the end of the conference is in sight, is "balance." It is heard from diplomats from both NATO and Communist countries, and it reflects the idea that the "Helsinki process" — the reviewing and updating of the 1975 accords that codified détente — can advance only by consensus among the 35 nations involved.

"You go for 40 or 50 percent of what you want, not 100 percent," a Western European delegate said. "Then you get 20 percent, and you compare it with the 20 percent you gave away to see if it's acceptable."

In practical terms, that means that any final agreement will be a compromise and most likely a bland one. It will be reached not because the two sides suddenly find themselves in harmony on critical issues but because each side is willing to give away something to obtain something else it wants more.

**The Helsinki Accords**  
In the 1975 Helsinki accords, looked at broadly, the West exchanged de facto recognition of a divided Europe for a broad commitment from the Soviet Union on human rights and cooperative East-West ventures. A follow-up meeting in Belgrade in 1977 did not produce a substantive document, partly because détente was on the wane.

The Madrid session, opening under the shadow of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, coincided with a number of greater international tensions, but it has produced a complicated 35-page addendum to the Helsinki accords that seems open to varying interpretations.

Some of the reasons for the agreement may lie in the very depths of the tensions: the climate was so bad that the time was ripe for some show of good will. The eight neutral and nonaligned countries pressed strongly for an agreement that would at least revive some hope for détente.

Neither Washington nor Moscow, engaged in more portentous propaganda over the question of nuclear missile deployment, could afford to shoulder the onus for failure in what both regarded as something of a sideshow.

**'More Toward Western Thinking'**  
To diplomats who think of Helsinki as an evolving process, and who measure gains in feet instead of miles, it represents modest progress. "There's a base line established by Helsinki, and we've moved that base line forward, more toward Western thinking," the British delegate, Anthony Williams, said.

The document contains something for both sides. In general terms, it tries to balance the mutual Soviet objective, the calling of a conference on disarmament in Europe, with the Western goal of strengthening and rendering more specific the Helsinki provisions on human rights.

The Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament is scheduled to open in Stockholm in January. This provides Moscow for a timely forum to attack the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Western Europe, scheduled to begin the month before.

But the scope of the conference makes it acceptable to the West, especially to the West German Government, which is anxious to convince its restive anticommunist advocates that the deployment will not mean an end to discussions with the Soviet Union.

**Fear of Surprise Attack**  
As agreed here, the first stage of the talks will deal with measures designed to lessen fears over a surprise military attack, such as a surprise attack on military maneuvers. Only when these

"confidence building" matters are settled would disarmament be tackled.

Moscow has agreed that whatever decisions are reached at Stockholm will apply in its own territory as far east as the Ural Mountains, far beyond a 150-mile band provided for in the Helsinki accords. In return, Moscow wanted the Western right to extend far into the Atlantic Ocean, presumably to cover the United States rapid deployment force and other military activities beyond Europe. The West found this unacceptable.

The different approaches, symbolized by the use of the word "ocean" as opposed to "sea," are papered over by a technical device: using one word in the text and the other in a footnote. Western delegates assert that the overall language is precise in restricting the region covered to Europe and its immediate sea and airspace. But the Soviet interpretation may challenge this view.

The Soviet Union also obtained continued commitments for exchanges in technology and trade, which would appear to run counter to the policy of the Reagan Administration.

**Some Gains for the West on Rights**

In the area of human rights, the document sets down some gains for the West, but how large or small these are seems to depend upon what they are measured against. Compared with 14 amendments that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries offered last year, they are minimal. But compared with the 1975 accords and to earlier proposals here they contain some carefully circumscribed improvements.

The right to practice religion, a vague generality in 1975, is stated unequivocally, allowing the possibility for religious institutions to be consulted in promotion of that right provided it is not in conflict with the constitutional framework of the state. There are specific pledges to take steps against terrorism, an issue that did not figure at all in the original document.

Trade unions was another area ig-



CARTER MEETS WITH JAPANESE LEADER: Former President Jimmy Carter accepting a drink at a luncheon given by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, left, yesterday in Tokyo. He is on a six-day private visit to Japan.

nored in 1975, and because of Poland's oppressed Solidarity union it was a contentious issue. The right to form independent trade unions and the right to strike, which the West had demanded, have virtually disappeared in a formulation that the Soviet bloc could live with, "the right of workers freely to establish and join trade unions." It is further restricted by a provision that the rights be exercised "in compliance with the law of the state."

But Soviet diplomats note there is an indirect reference to the conventions of the International Labor Organization and take solace in the fact that at least the issue is raised, enabling it to be examined at follow-up conferences. One provision that the West had wanted, prohibiting the jamming of foreign radio broadcasts, disappeared entirely. Another, permitting citizens to form Helsinki monitoring groups, exists only in a veiled reference for countries to "encourage genuine efforts" to carry out the accords, a reference the Soviet bloc seems bound to ignore.

The document also calls for no fewer than eight future meetings among the participating countries, including another full follow-up session in Vienna in 1986.

The West obtained a commitment to

## Excerpts From the Final Document and an Annex at the East-West Talks

Special to The New York Times

MADRID, July 21 — Following are excerpts from the final document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and an annex, as made available to The New York Times.

### Final Document

#### Questions Relating To Security in Europe

The participating states express their determination:

- To exert new efforts to make peace and effective security increasingly viable and comprehensive;
- To seek solutions to outstanding problems through peaceful means;
- To encourage genuine efforts to implement the Final Act;
- To exert genuine efforts towards containing an increasing arms buildup.

#### Principles

The participating states reaffirm the need that refraining from the threat or use of force as a norm of international life, should be strictly and effectively observed.

The participating states condemn and emphasize the necessity to take resolute measures to combat it. They express their determination to take effective measures for the prevention and suppression of acts of terrorism, both at the national level and through international cooperation. They will take all appropriate measures in preventing their respective territories from being used for the preparation, organization or commission of terrorist activities.

The participating states confirm that they will refrain from any direct assistance to terrorist activities or to subversive or other activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another participating state. Accordingly, they will refrain, inter alia, from financing, encouraging, fomenting or tolerating any such activities.

The participating states stress their determination to promote and encourage the effective exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms, all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development, and to assure constant and tangible progress in accordance with the Final Act, aiming at further and steady development in this field in all participating states, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems.

They recall the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, as embodied in the Final Act, and will take the necessary action in their respective countries to effectively insure this right.

The participating states reaffirm that they will recognize, respect and furthermore agree to take the action necessary to insure the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience.

The participating states will insure the right of workers freely to establish and join trade unions, the right of trade unions freely to exercise their activities and other rights as laid down in relevant international instruments. They note that these rights will be exercised in compliance with the law of the state and in conformity with the state's obligations under international law. They will encourage, as appropriate, direct contacts and communication among such trade unions and their representatives.

They decide to convene a meeting of experts of the participating states on questions concerning respect, in their states, for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as embodied in the Final Act. The meeting of experts will be held in Ottawa, beginning on 7 May 1984.

### Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe

The participating states have agreed to convene a Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

The aim of the conference is to undertake, in stages, new, effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament.

The conference will begin a process of which the first stage will be devoted to the negotiation and adoption of a set of mutually complementary confidence and security-building measures designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe. The first stage of the conference will be held in Stockholm commencing on 17 January 1984.

On the basis of equality of rights, balance and reciprocal respect for the security interests of all C.S.C.B. participating states, and of their respective obligations concerning confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, these confidence- and security-building measures will cover the whole of Europe as well as the adjoining sea area and airspace. They will be of military significance and politically binding and will be provided with adequate forms of verification which correspond to their content.

As far as the adjoining sea area and airspace is concerned, the measures will be applicable to the military activities of all the participating states taking place there whenever these activities affect security in Europe as well as constitute a part of activities taking place within the whole of Europe as referred to above, which they will agree to notify. Necessary specifications will be made through the negotiations.

The next follow-up meeting of the participating states of the C.S.C.B., to be held in Vienna commencing on 4 November 1986, will assess the progress achieved during the first stage of the conference.

A future C.S.C.B. follow-up meeting will consider ways and appropriate means for supplementing the present measures for the next stage of the conference.

A preparatory meeting will be held in Helsinki, commencing on 20 October 1983.

technical developments as a means of facilitating, on the basis of mutual advantage, the study and the transfer of as well as access to scientific and technical achievements in fields of cooperation.

### Cooperation In Humanitarian And Other Fields

#### Human Contacts

The participating states will favorably deal with the exchange of contacts and regular meetings on the basis of family ties, reunification of families and marriage between citizens of different states and will decide upon them in the same spirit.

They will decide upon these applications in emergency cases for family meetings as expeditiously as possible, for family reunification and for marriage between citizens of different states in normal practice within six months and for other family meetings within gradually decreasing time limits.

They confirm that the presentation or renewal of applications in these cases will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicants or of members of their families concerning inter alia employment, housing, residence status, family support, access to social, economic or educational benefits, as well as any other rights and obligations flowing from the laws and regulations of the respective participating state.

The participating states will provide the necessary information on the

procedures to be followed by the applicants. They will, where necessary, gradually reduce fees charged in connection with these applications, including those for visas and passports. Applicants will be informed as expeditiously as possible of the decision that has been reached. In case of refusal applicants will also be informed of their right to renew applications after reasonably short intervals.

The participating states reaffirm their commitment fully to implement the provisions regarding diplomatic and other official missions and consular posts of other participating states contained in relevant multilateral or bilateral conventions. They will further implement the relevant provisions of the Final Act, so that religious faiths, institutions, organizations and their representatives can, in the field of their activity, develop contacts and meetings among themselves and exchange information.

#### Information

The participating states will further encourage the freer and wider dissemination of printed matter, periodicals and nonperiodicals, imported from other participating states.

They confirm their intention to further extend the possibilities for the public to take out subscriptions.

They will decide without undue delay upon visa applications from applications which have been refused. They will facilitate travel by journalists from other participating states within their territories with the exception of areas closed for security reasons.

They will further increase the possibilities, when necessary, improve the conditions for journalists from other participating states to establish and maintain personal contacts and communication with their sources. Journalists may carry with them reference material, including personal notes and files, to be used strictly for their professional purposes.

### Cooperation And Exchanges In the Field of Culture

The participating states will further encourage wider dissemination of access to books, films and other forms and means of cultural expression from other participating states.

### Cooperation And Exchanges In the Field of Education

The participating states will contribute to the further improvement of exchanges of students, teachers and scholars and their access to each other's educational, cultural and scientific institutions.

### Follow-Up To the Conference

In conformity with the relevant provisions of the Final Act, the participating states will hold further meetings regularly among their representatives. The third of these meetings will be held in Vienna commencing on 4 November 1986.

hold a special conference on "human contacts," which can deal with the sensitive issue of family reunification that touches on the emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union. Moscow resisted such a conference until the very end, then agreed only on the condition that it be contained in an annex, not in the text itself.

### Annex

The Chairman notes the absence of objection to the declaration made by the representative of Switzerland on 13 July 1983 extending an invitation by the Swiss Government to hold a meeting of experts on human contacts. Consequently, the Chairman notes that there is agreement to convene such a meeting to discuss the development of contacts among persons, institutions and organizations. The meeting will be convened in Bern, on 13 April 1986. Its duration will not exceed six weeks. The Chairman notes further that this statement will be an annex to the concluding document of the Madrid meeting and will be published with it.

### British Find Heroin; Arrest 3

LONDON, July 21 (Reuters) — British investigators said today that they had arrested a woman and two men after finding heroin valued at \$3.5 million at Heathrow Airport. A spokesman said a 33-pound package of heroin was wrapped in a blanket and hidden in the luggage of an Asian woman arriving from New Delhi with a stopover in Frankfurt. The discovery was described as the third largest ever made in Britain.

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